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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 3236

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNGA UR US
SUBJ: US/SOV BILATERALS ON UNGA: GENERAL APPROACH TO UN

SUMMARY: MUCH OF DISCUSSION AT TODAY'S OPENING SESSION OF US/SOV BILATERALS ON UNGA ISSUES WAS DEVOTED TO GENERAL APPROACH TO UN PROBLEMS. SOV AMB BALIK EMPHASIZED SOV CONCERN THAT "SECONDARY" ISSUES SUCH AS ENVIRONMENT ATTRACTING GREATER ATTENTION AT EXPENSE OF MAIN ISSUES OF PEACE AND SECURITY. HE BORE DOWN ON CHINESE DISRUPTIVE TACTICS AND ATTEMPTS TO PIT THIRD WORLD AGAINST BOTH US AND USSR AND POINTED TO INCREASING INDEPENDENT-MINDEDNESS OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. AMB SCALI STRESSED NEED FOR UN TO GET DOWN TO BUSINESS WITHOUT EITHER US OR SOV POLEMICS AND URGED BOTH MEANINGFUL US/SOV CONSULTATION AND A REFLECTION OF THE RECENT IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS IN OUR PUBLIC POSTURE AT UN. END SUMMARY.

1. IN US/SOV BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS ON UNGA HERE TODAY, SOV AMB MALIK LED OFF MAIN DISCSSION WITH REMARKS ON SOVIET GENERAL APPROACH TO UNGA. HE NOTED US-USSR RELATIONS WERE BETTER THAN THEY EVER HAD BEEN, AND THAT WITH THE END OF THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE AUSPICIOUS START ON CSCE, NEW POSSIBILITIES WERE OPENING UP FOR UN TO MAKE TREND TO DETENTE IRREVERSIBLE. SOME FORCES IN THE UN, HOWEVER, ARE NOT GIVING PROPER ATTENTION TO THE PRIMORDIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND INSTEAD DIVERT ATTENTION TO ADMITTEDLY IMPORTANT BUT SECONDARY PROBLEMS SUCH AS THE ENVIRONMENT, POLULATION, HIJACKING, TERRORISM, NARCOTICS, ETC. THIS WAS NOT THE MAIN AIM OF THE UN AT ITS OUTSET AND SHOULD NOT

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BE NOW. MALIK REVERTED SEVERAL TIMES TO THIS THEME DURING DISCUSSION AND AT ONE POINT SAID HE HAD BECOME CONVENCED AFTER FIVE YEARS HERE THAT THIS WAS THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE IN THE US AND SOV APPROACH TO GENERAL TASKS OF UN.

2. TWO OTHER IMPORTANT AND RELATED STRANDS IN MALIK'S DISCUSSION WERE THE INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT PROBLEM FOR BOTH US AND USSR IN DEALING WITH NON-ALIGNED BLOC IN UN ("THE COLLECTIVE VETO," HE CALLED IT) AND ALLEGEDLY DISRUPTIVE TACTICS OF CHINESE WHO HE SAID ARE TRYING TO SOW SEEDS OF DISTRUST AGAINST BOTH US AND USSR WITH THEIR CONSTANT REFERENCES TO HEGEMONY OF THE TWO SUPER-POWERS. MALIK REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO A NEW TENDENCY OR NEW MOOD ON THE PART OF THE THIRD WORLD AS REFLECTED MOST RECENTLY IN ALGIERS NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITED SOMETIMES IN OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS SUCH AS THE RESOLUTION INTRODUCED BY TWENTY COUNTRIES ON THE SECOND DEVELOPMENT DECADE WHICH DECLARED THAT IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SUPER-POWERS WAS NOT BENEFICIAL TO THIRD WORLD. MALIK STRESSED IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT FOR OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO CONSULT TO SEEK WAYS OF DISSUADING THE THIRD WORLD FROM THINKING THAT IT WILL BE HURT BY DETENTE. HE SUGGESTED US STILL CLUNG TO VIEW THAT SOVS TRYING TO INCITE THIRD WORLD AGAINST US, WHEN FACT IS THAT THIRD WORLD EXISTS WITH ITS OWN CREDO AND EGO WITHOUT NEED OF PRODDING FROM ANYBODY.

3. IN REPLY TO MALIK'S BARBS ABOUT US-CHINESE COZINESS ("YOUR NEW FRIENDS, THE CHINESE") AND A REMARK THAT ISRAEL WAS A CLASSIC EXAMPLE OF NON-COMPLIANCE WITH UN RESOLUTIONS, SCALI SAID "I AM NOT HERE TO REPRESENT ISRAEL, CHINA OR ANYONE EXCEPT US,JUST AS I SUPPOSE YOU ARE NOT HERE TO REPRESENT, SAY, CUBA." CONCERNING MALIK'S COMMENT ON THIRD WORLD ATTITUDES, SCALI REPEATED AN EARLIER REMARK THAT WE SHOULD AVOID GIVING IMPRESSION OF GREAT POWER COLLUSION AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE LDC'S AND SAID WE SHOULD TRY TO PREVENT THE THIRD WORLD "COLLECTIVE VETO" FROM BEING A FORCE DIRECTED MORE AGAINST ONE COUNTRY THAN THE OTHER. SCALI URGED SOVS TO FIND A WAY TO CONTRIBUTE NOW TO SECOND DEVELOPMENT DECADE AND OTHER UN CONFIDENTIAL

DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS.

4. RESPONDING TO MALIK'S UNSTARTLING REMARKS ABOUT THE SOV GENERAL APPROACH TO THE UN, SCALI MADE FOLLOWING POINTS IN A PRESENTATION WHICH ELICITED UNUSALLY CLOSE ATTENTION FROM HIS INTERLOCUTORS: (A) IMPROVEMENT IN US-USSR RELATIONS HOULD BE REFLECTED IN OUR PUBLIC POSTURE IN UN AS WELL AS IN CORRIDOR ACTIVITIES. US WILL NOT ENGAGE IN POLEMICS AND USSR SHOULD NOT. LOBBYING OF LDC'S ON BASIS OF ANTI-IMPERIALISM, MEANING ANTI-AMERICANISM, SHOULD STOP. (B) NEITHER SIDE SHOULD TAKE INITIATIVES KNOWN TO BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE OTHER ESPECIALLY IF DIRECTED AGAINST THE OTHER, NOR SHOULD EITHER SIDE WEEK TO WORK WITH THE OTHER AGAINST THIRD COUNRIES. (C) THERE SHOULD

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BE NO EFFORT TO GENERALIZE IN UN ANY OF OUR BILATERAL AGREEMENTS SUCH AS AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR WITHOUT DETAILED ADVANCE CONSULTATION AND MUTUAL AGREEMENT. FURTHERMORE, WE SEE NO NEED FOR REGISTERING FORMALLY WITH UN ANY OF THIS YEAR'S SUMMIT DOCUMENTS EXCEPT POSSIBLY THE TAX TREATY UPON RATIFICATION. (D) WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSULT FULLY WITH OSVS ON ALL UNGA ISSUES BUT WILL OF COURSE CONSULT WITH OTHERS AS WELL, AND WISH TO LEAVE NO IMPRESSION OF GREAT POWER COLLUSION.

5. SCALI PREFACED THESE REMARKS BY A REFERENCE TO DR. KISSINGER'S EXPRESSED VIEW THAT UN IS AN IMPORTANT FORUM FOR CONSOLIDATING BILATERAL ADVANCES AND HIS HOPES FOR SOME NEW DEPARTURES, POSSIBLY IN PEACEKEEPING AREA. SCALI ALSO EXPRESSED US CONCERN ABOUT "THE RIVER OF RESOLUTIONS" IN THE UNGA.

6. MALIK SAID HE AGREED THERE ARE FAR TOO MANY UN RESOLUTIONS, BUT FAULT IS IN THOSE MEMBER STATES WHICH SABOTAGE DECISIONS OF GA AND OTHER ORGANS AND THUS UNDERMINE ROLE OF UN. AS FOR ANTI-AMERICANISM, MALIK FELL BACK ON THE OBSERVATION THAT HE HAD SEEN NO ANTI-AMERICAN ARTICLES IN SOV PRESS DURING HIS RECENT MOSCOW VACATION BUT FOUND AMERICAN PRESS FULL OF ANTI-SOVIET ARTICLES ON HIS RETURN. WITH REGARD TO REFRAINING FROM INITIATIVES UNACCEPTABLE TO THE OTHER SIDE, MALIK SAID EXPERIENCE DEMONSTRATED THIS IS NOT SO EASY, FOR EXAMPLE, PEACEKEEPING (SEPTEL). MALIK SAID HE WAS PERSONNALY PUZZLED THAT US HAD NOT AGREED TO PUBLISH PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT OR NIXON-BREZHVEV COMMUNIQUE AS UN DOCUMENTS. SCALI REPLIED THAT WE HAD NOT AGREED TO THIS BECAUSE SPEED OF CONFIDENTIAL

DETENTE HAD BEEN SO RAPID THAT WE FEARED PUBLICATION IN UN WOULD AROUSE SUSPICION AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED OF GREAT POWER COLLUSION.

7. COMMENT: OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT MALIK BEGAN WITH RATHER PRO FORMA SOV STATEMENT ON GENERAL APPROACH AND WAS SURPRISED AND INTERESTED WHEN AMB SCALI'S REPLY STATEMENT PROVED TO BE FRANK AND AUTHORITATIVE. MALIK'S EARS PERKED UP NOTICEABLY AND THIS HELPED SET FAVORABLE TONE FOR REMAINDER OF DISCUSSION. BENNETT

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